

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 NRC-07 ACDA-12 SOE-02 AF-10 ARA-14

CIAE-00 DODE-00 EA-12 EUR-12 PM-05 H-02 INR-10

L-03 NASA-02 NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02

PA-02 DOE-15 CEQ-01 OES-07 SS-15 ICA-20 DOEE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1952

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION USNATO

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 USUN NEW YORK 02401

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PARM, UNGA

SUBJECT: SSOD GENERAL DEBATE, JUNE 9--STATEMENT OF INDIA

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: INDIAN PRIME MINISTER DESAI'S SPEECH WAS BALANCED, HUMANISTIC AND STRESSED NON VIOLENCE. DESAI URGED PROGRESS TOWARD TOTAL AND COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT. HE REITERATED INDIA'S PLEDGE NOT TO MAKE OR OBTAIN NUCLEAR WEAPONS, BUT STRESSED THAT THE NPT IS DISCRIMINATORY. DESAI PRAISED THE US AND USSR PRESIDENTS FOR THEIR PUBLIC PLEDGES TO COMPLETE CTB AND SALT II NEGOTIATIONS SPEEDILY. HE ALSO PRAISED THEM FOR OTHER PUBLIC STATEMENTS THEY HAVE MADE. DESAI DISPARAGED CREATION OF NUCLEAR-WEAPON-FREE ZONES. HE PROPOSED OUTLAWING MILITARY NUCLEAR RESEARCH, IMPOSING LIMITS ON NUCLEAR ARMS AND FREEZING STOCKPILES UNDER INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION, GRADUALLY ELIMINATING NUCLEAR STOCKPILES, AND REACHING A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY SAFEGUARDED THROUGH INDEPENDENT INSPECTION. END SUMMARY.

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2. PRIME MINISTER DESAI'S ADDRESS WAS BALANCED IN ITS PRAISE AND BLAME OF EAST AND WEST. HE RECOUNTED VEDIC NUGGETS OF WISDOM AND GANDHIAN PHILOSOPHY CALCULATED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT AS LONG AS WAR IS REGARDED AS LEGITIMATE, DISARMAMENT AND PEACE WILL BE CHIMERICAL ILLUSIONS. THOUGH THE UN IS AN ATTEMPT TO BUILD A STRUCTURE FOR PEACE, SOME NATIONS BECOME INVOLVED AND HAVE

INVOLVED OTHERS IN POWER POLITICS, BUILDING BLOCS, COMPETING FOR SPHERES OF INFLUENCE, PROMOTING SALES OF ARMS AND PILING UP ARSENALS. DESAI NOTED THAT NUCLEAR DETERRENTS HAVE FAILED TO END THE ARMS RACE, BUT HAVE RATHER STIMULATED FURTHER COMPETITION. HE POINTED OUT THOUGH WE MAY ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF GRADUALNESS IN A TIME-BOUND DISARMAMENT PROGRAM, THE PROGRAM MUST BE NON-DISCRIMINATORY BASED ON UNIVERSAL APPLICATION WITHOUT ANY MONOPOLISTIC FEATURE OR PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT.

3. DESAI REPEATED INDIA'S COMMITMENT TO COMPREHENSIVE DISARMAMENT AND HER PLEDGE NOT TO MANUFACTURE OR ACQUIRE NUCLEAR WEAPONS EVEN IF THE REST OF THE WORLD DID SO; HE ABJURED NUCLEAR EXPLOSIONS EVEN FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES. YES HE REITERATED INDIA'S INTERPRETATION THAT THE NPT IS "PATENTLY DISCRIMINATORY" AND INVIDIOUSLY DISCRIMINATES AGAINST NATIONS DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL NUCLEAR RESEARCH AND TECHNOLOGY. THE TREATY GIVES NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES A MONOPOLY OF POWER AND FREEDOM FOR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF NUCLEAR KNOW-HOW, BUT RESTRICTS THE NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES IN WAYS THAT MAY IMPEDE PEACEFUL DEVELOPMENT OF NUCLEAR SCIENCE. ALONG WITH THE PARTIAL TEST BAN TREATY, THE NPT ENABLES NUCLEAR MILITARY POWERS TO CONTINUE TO USE NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES BUT IMPOSES BARRIERS ON OTHERS. HE ACCUSED THE NPT OF FAILING TO ARREST THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE GROWTH OF NUCLEAR ARMS
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OVER THE PAST EIGHT YEARS.

4. DESAI NOTED THAT THE ONUS FOR FINDING A SOLUTION FOR THE NUCLEAR ARMS PROBLEM IS MAINLY ONE FOR THE US AND THE USSR, BUT THAT THEY HAVE NOT YET PROVIDED A BASIS FOR GENERAL AGREEMENTS ON THE SEVERAL FEATURES OF DISARMAMENT. HOWEVER, DESAI APPRECIATED EXPRESSIONS OF DETERMINATION BY THE US AND USSR PRESIDENTS TO FINALIZE SOON THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR ELIMINATION OF NUCLEAR TESTING AND FOR SALT II. HE APPROVED PRESIDENT CARTER'S DECLARATION THAT THE US WILL USE NUCLEAR ARMS ONLY IN SELF-DEFENSE AND PRAISED PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL TO REPLACE THE BALANCE OF TERROR BY THE BALANCE OF TRUST. DESAI SHARED THE FRENCH PRESIDENT'S CONCERN OVER DELAYS IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE LIMITED NATURE OF DISARMAMENT TALKS. HE NOTED THAT DISARMAMENT, ESPECIALLY NUCLEAR, CANNOT BE SOLVED BY A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES REACHED THROUGH BARGAINING. RATHER, ITS SOLUTION REQUIRES IN A TOTAL MANNER AND FROM A GLOBAL STANDPOINT.

5. DESAI CHARGED IT WOULD BE IDLE TO TALK OF REGIONAL

NUCLEAR FREE ZONES WHEN ZONES WOULD REMAIN WHICH COULD CONTINUE TO BE THREATENED BY NUCLEAR WEAPONS. NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES WOULD LOSE NOTHING IF SOME DISTANT AREA IS DECLARED NON-NUCLEAR. HE TERMED THE BELIEF THAT INCLUSION IN SUCH ZONES AFFORDS SECURITY AS A "DELUSION." THE ONLY PATH TO FREEDOM FROM NUCLEAR THREATS IS THAT THE WHOLE WORLD BE DECLARED A NUCLEAR FREE ZONE. THIS WOULD REQUIRE THE ABJURING OF VIOLENCE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY AND REDUCING ON A TIMETABLE THE WEAPONS AND FORCES OF VIOLENCE. HE PROPOSED FOUR PARTS AS THE FIRST STEP IN THIS DIRECTION: (1) DECLARATION THAT USE OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FOR MILITARY PURPOSES BE OUTLAWED; (2) QUALITATIVE AND QUAN-

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L-03 NASA-02 NEA-11 NSAE-00 NSC-05 OIC-02 SP-02
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TITATIVE LIMITS ON NUCLEAR ARMS AND IMMEDIATE FREEZING OF STOCKPILES UNDER INTERNATIONAL INSPECTION; (3) FORMULATION OF A TIME-BOUND PROGRAM (A DECADE OR LESS) FOR GRADUAL REDUCTION OF THE STOCKPILE IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF ALL NUCLEAR ARMS; AND (4) A COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN TREATY WITH PROVISION FOR SAFEGUARDS, WHICH IN DESAI'S VIEW "CAN ONLY BE THROUGH INDEPENDENT INSPECTION." DESAI ALSO SUPPORTED APPLICATION OF THE BAN TO ATMOSPHERIC, UNDERGROUND, AND UNDERSEA TESTS AS WELL AS IN SPACE. THE SAFEGUARDS SYSTEM SHOULD BE BASED ON UNIVERSALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION. ON DISARMAMENT IN THE CONVENTIONAL FIELD, DESAI ADVISED THE WORLD NOT TO WAIT UNTIL NUCLEAR DISARMA-

MENT IS FINISHED. HE CALLED FOR A BEGINNING THIS YEAR TO
WORK OUT AN AGREEMENT ON DISARMAMENT AND DRASTIC REDUCTION
OF CONVENTIONAL ARMED STRENGTH. HE PLEDGED INDIA WILL
COOPERATE IN FORMULATING THESE PROGRAMS AND WILL
PLEDGE ITSELF TO THEIR IMPLEMENTATION. DESAI ALSO
EMPHASIZED THAT NO SCHEME OF GLOBAL PEACE AND
DISARMAMENT CAN LAST UNLESS IT IS LINKED WITH THE
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CREATION OF AN EQUITABLE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER. HE
SUGGESTED THAT THE UNGA RECOMMEND SETTING UP A FUND TO
STUDY DISARMAMENT AND NON-VIOLENCE AND DETERMINE WAYS AND
MEANS OF "REPLACING BOMBS AND BULLETS BY BREAD AND BOOKS."
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